

SUMMARY

The Cayapa economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familiarly, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seems to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machines and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorian and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tapia nuts, and other forest products. Corn is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: caskets, mats, hats, and other basketry. In exchange, the Cayapa want metal goods: axes, machetes, shovels, folding knives, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, coats, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslin and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The Cayapa are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorian economy. Their need for metal goods and weapons has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been enquired. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic Cayapa social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Naga's house at Punta Venado could own some 40 odd people at a least but it was unique in size, and the Naga household according to Barrett (1924) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1923) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the Cayapa. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "loose" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the Cayapa family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

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ethics is very high among the Cayapa themselves, and any case of unfaithfulness, if such were to be discovered among themselves, would be most severely dealt with. About 1897 or 1898 two negroes came to a Cayapa house, drove the men away, and took possession of the premises with the women occupants. On the following day the chief sent down the river a commission which conveyed to the local *teniente politico* at La Tolita the heads of the negroes, carefully wrapped in leaves of the *hoja blanca*, as well as the compliments of the chief, and with an explanation as to the reason why the heads had been separated from the bodies. Incidentally the explanation conveyed the intelligence that future offenses of this kind would be punished in like manner. The *teniente politico* was requested to forward to the governor at Esmeraldas the two heads and the above message, but owing to the rapidity of decomposition in the tropics, it was deemed best to give the governor the benefit of the message only. Fortunately for all parties concerned the governor's reply, it is said, was a complete vindication of the action of the Cayapa. So far as could be learned, no similar crime has been committed since that time.

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DAILY LIFE

The social organization of the Cayapa has a strictly family basis, although according to their own traditions they formerly lived, when at Ibarra and Pueblo Viejo, in village communities. At present each family regularly lives entirely separated from every other family, and usually at a considerable distance from its nearest

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361 neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may
 ● 592 be within sight of one another along the river. In no
 [42] case, however, is there an approach to communal life,
 622 each family forming an individual unit with family
 626 property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central govern-
 ment, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion.
 The purposes of this central government are strictly
 those of preserving law and order, settling controversies
 between individuals, and punishing infringements upon
 [42] recognized social customs. In no case is there any
 interference by the central government with property
 or other recognized family rights and privileges.

592 A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband,
 [59] wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is
 meant not necessarily one who is supported by the
 others, but one not having a house and a family of his
 own and who may choose to reside with some family,
 usually a closely related one. These dependents are
 usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents,
 grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the
 house or of his wife.

462 The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all
 512 members of the household, especially the women. In
 addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order,
 and attending to the wants of the smaller children,
 the mother of the household is kept busy spinning,
 weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and
 pots to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the
 crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

is favored. In these cases, it is always the rear of the house that is raised about four or five inches. The rear of the house is the cooking area, and it is here that the firebox is located. A common size for the firebox is four feet by five feet and it is packed with earth to a depth of four to six inches. Three rocks form a pot holder within which a fire is contained. There will generally be one such rock hearth for each related family resident in the house. Behind the kitchen area a bamboo ramp about three feet wide and twenty feet long serves the boys and men as a urinal; a hole about three feet out from the house serves the girls, women and infants.

The gabled roof is pitched at about a forty-five degree angle and is framed by long single lengths of bamboo. The thatch consists of the long leaves of the Tagua palm which may reach a length of fourteen to sixteen feet. From the midrib of the leaf, a series of leaflets extend out for approximately three feet. Two or three months before roofing, the leaves are cut down and collected in the Tagua patch and placed on a low bamboo rack for drying. Sometimes the Tagua patch is a considerable distance behind the house, in which

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position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

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the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

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time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-law in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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4:Altechuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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and never by way of organized groups. There were no
political groups, just individuals who occasionally
voiced dissatisfaction.

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John Embree in his comparison between Thai
and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close
and loose structures:

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Loosely integrated here signifying a
culture in which considerable variation of
individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree
1950:182) . . . Where social structure is
"close"--that is, where the behavior of the
people conforms closely to the formal social
patterns of human relations . . . it is diffi-
cult for an individual to deviate, and recip-
rocal rights and duties are clearly marked and
carried out (Embree 1950:183).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms,
loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by
individuality but not by individualism. That is,
there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or other-
wise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological
concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship
system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with
the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usual-
ly preclude social involvements on other than an in-
dividual basis. A possible exception to this may be

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found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late *Am^o1*, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Anapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

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4:Altachmuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965

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Romulo appeals to a White official. Romulo

lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Inez Cimarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nikola Ayovi and Aurelio Caruso, and an Indian named Dámaso Largo, came up from Plova Grande at the request of Averticio Largo, a 'cousin' of Dámaso. Averticio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Inez for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relations. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

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